BOOKS • THEATER • FILMS • RECORDS

Upsala College
Library
East Orange, N.J.

THE Nation

March 28, 1953
20¢

Red China Diary

by Desmond Donnelly, M. P.

That Critical Strike — *John T. Dunlop*

Less Power to You! — *Bruce Catton*

Move the U. N.? — *Jean Berlitz*

Prodigy's Escape — *Eric Temple Bell*
A Review of Norbert Wiener's "Ex-Prodigy"

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Around the U.S.A.

A People Comes of Age

Los Gatos, California

THERE are more than three million Mexican Americans in the Southwestern states today. Although a sizable racial minority, they have had no representation in state or national government and almost none, except in New Mexico, in local government. Until recently few of them ever voted or for that matter even bothered to register. One saw them working in the orchards and at the stoop crops, or on the roadbeds of the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe, but not going to the polls.

Mexican Americans have contributed materially to the wealth of the nation but got little of it back for themselves. The president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce has said that they have California agriculture in the hollow of their hand, and lobbyists for the fruit interests insist that for every dollar the state spends on them for relief it gets back two. Yet when hundreds of private housing developments sprang up in Los Angeles after the war, only one builder, according to a Los Angeles housing official, would sell to persons of Mexican ancestry.

The political awakening of the Spanish-speaking minority began in Los Angeles in 1947, under the leadership of the Community Service Organization (C. S. O.). An editorial in the Los Angeles *Daily News* of June 9, 1948, stated that the goal of the organization was "the building of a hitherto relatively voiceless element in the community into an integrated responsible segment of society." To carry out its program the C. S. O. obtained the services of Fred Ross, formerly field organizer of the Industrial Areas Foundation of Chicago.

The C. S. O. has always stressed the ballot as a means to its ends. It sent volunteer Spanish-speaking deputy registrars into sections of Los Angeles that had never been registered before. With the slogan, "Vote for whomever you please, but please register and vote," it raised the percentage of voters in the city's population from 48 in 1948 to 55 in 1949. Of the Mexican Americans registered, 82 per cent voted, a considerably higher figure than the national average for municipal elections.

The deputy registrars found their kinsmen not apathetic about the ballot when it was a means of achieving some real community need, such as a storm sewer, traffic signal, or crosswalk. And residents of the community discovered that the city and county councilmen and commissioners paid more attention to their requests when their names were on the registration books.

• By 1948 the C. S. O. counted among its members social workers, professional men, laborers, storekeepers, and college students. In that year the organization's chairman, Edward Roybal, ran for the Council from the Ninth District and defeated the incumbent two to one. Los Angeles, with the largest Mexican American population of any city in North America (300,000) except Mexico City, had for the first time a representative of this group in the local government. Roybal has since been reelected without opposition.

During 1948 and 1949 much of the energy of the C. S. O. was devoted to the defense of civil rights. The organization appealed through Representative Holifield (D., Cal.) for modification of the discriminatory wording of the registration forms filled out by men entering the armed services—"Negro, Oriental, White, and Others"—and received assurances from the Secretary of Defense that the Personnel Policy Board would enforce President Truman's nondiscrimination policy in the army.

In the field of education it has protested against interpretations of I. Q. ratings which failed to consider such determining factors as the lower income and bilingual background of Mexican Americans. It has opposed basing the extension of the industrial-arts program on the increasing number of Negro and Mexican students and has encouraged the aspirations of these youths to enter the professions. It has cooperated with the educational authorities in obtaining instruction in adult-education centers to fit the people's needs.

The C. S. O. has been 100 per cent behind labor.

• The success of the C. S. O. in Los Angeles led to the founding of a branch in San Jose last May, and already the 36,000 Mexican Americans of Santa Clara County have been awakened to political consciousness. A bad situation existed there. Every year flash floods washed out numerous families living in the eastern foothills. The backing up of sewage and waste disposal from a packing plant made conditions still worse. The solution was mostly left to nature until the C. S. O. and the California Federation for Civic Unity went to work. "You've been trying to get results," their canvassers told the people, "when you haven't any voting power." Between cherry-picking and prune-picking 4,000 Mexican Americans were registered who had never been registered before.

On Election Day these Mexican Americans went to the polls. Only a few were challenged. The four o'clock edition of the San Jose *News* ran a headline, "Voters Questioned at Polls," but any intimidating effect it might have exerted on late voters was dispelled by the Spanish news announcer at six o'clock, who reminded his listeners of what their ballots could accomplish.

Mexican Americans are fighting discrimination against their own and other racial groups. In 1947 they ended segregation in the schools of El Modino, California, by electing one of their race, a barber, to the school board. In San Jose last fall they protested jointly with veterans' organizations against the refusal to sell a house in a Caucasian neighborhood to a Japanese American veteran. They have learned that people make their own history, and they want a part in the process.

G. W. SHERMAN

[*Mr. Sherman is a social worker and free-lance writer.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume 176, Number 13
New York, Saturday, March 28, 1953

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Get Your Scorecard!

Over the past week the Western world has been marking up the score of conciliatory gestures made by Moscow or Moscow satellites since the death of Stalin. A few days ago a foreign-affairs expert on the radio put the total at eleven. The board shows only one entry on the American side, but an important one—President Eisenhower's promise to meet the Russians "more than halfway." As this week opened, score-keepers were waiting for new moves at the United Nations, first of all in the matter of the Secretary Generalship. But they were prepared to await the arrival of Moscow's permanent delegate, Andrei Vishinsky, for any major change of front, such as a break in the Korean stalemate.

In general the Administration's policy has been to avoid unnecessary friction while demanding "deeds" as tokens of sincerity. At the same time we have been elaborately warned that deeds and words alike are probably no more than the conventional gambits used in opening a peace offensive—itself designed to slow down the processes of Western rearmament and integration while the new Soviet regime gets organized and ready to resume cold-war business as usual. The warning may be well founded, but it raises the old question: at what point does the West decide that Moscow's moves are intended to produce peace rather than time—or mere propaganda? We do not know, but what we hope is that behind the score board, diplomats of both sides, or friendly mediators, are making the preliminary private soundings that will provide the signal for wait-and-see to end and negotiations to begin. Peacemaking never gets under way in public. Meanwhile it can be taken as a good sign if Washington continues to soft-pedal the liberation-crusade theme, which is definitely this side of halfway toward peace.

Germans Bearing Gifts

Chancellor Adenauer has been hoping that he could bring to Washington, as a gift to the Eisenhower Administration, ratification of the treaties linking the Federal Republic with the European Defense Community. As has often happened before, his hopes are fulfilled. By a majority larger than was expected, 226 to 164, the German Bundestag approved the rearmament of West Germany and its integration into the contemplated six-nation European military alliance. There remain two further steps: the approval of the Bundesrat, or upper house, must be obtained, and the Federal Constitutional Court must decide on the compatibility of the treaties with a constitution that contains no provision for rearmament.

In France, which must also ratify the treaties to make them effective, the Bonn vote had contradictory effects. For some persons the fact that the Bundestag was the first legislature to meet the American request for early ratification puts France in an embarrassing position if its own approval is delayed. Others see in the collapse of the German opposition an additional reason to go slow. Since Adenauer is to follow M. Mayer in Washington, it is sure that the French premier will try to convince Eisenhower that French reluctance to ratify the treaties is based on strong reasons and still stronger emotions. France needs dollars, but needs still more a guaranty that it will not be attacked by Germany a fourth time.

Ellis Island and Its "Isolatoes"

C. L. R. James is a fifty-one-year-old West Indian intellectual—author of "The Black Jacobins" and other books—who came to this country in 1938 after some years' residence in Great Britain, where he served as special correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian* and the Glasgow *Herald*. To his amazement he developed strong attachment for the American scene and culture—a trip across the continent "permanently altered" his attitude toward the world—and he decided to remain here. In Great Britain he had been affiliated with a small Trotskyite group, but he is bitterly anti-Communist. A long involvement with the Immigration Service came to a climax last year with a stay on Ellis Island and, finally, a warrant of deportation. His case was argued on February 4 before the Circuit Court of Appeals, and decision is expected shortly.

While on Ellis Island, Mr. James wrote an interesting essay on Herman Melville which, together with an account of his experiences on the island, he has now published under the title "Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways" (copies, at $1, can be obtained by writing Mr. James, 1186 Broadway, New York 1, N. Y.) He finds a remarkable similarity of outlook, background, and condi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 257
Runaway Inquiries 259

ARTICLES

Rabelais: 1483-1953
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 261

Red China Diary: 1. Prague to Peking
by Desmond Donnelly 262

Move the U. N.?:
The Neutral-Host Concept
by Jean Berlitz 264

Less Power to You!
The Attack on Public Power
by Bruce Catton 265

That Critical Strike: Can It be Avoided?
by John T. Dunlop 267

Quirino vs. U. S.:
Philippine Land Reform
by Robert H. Sollen 268

BOOKS

Prodigy's Escape
A Review by E. T. Bell 270

New Books in Brief 271

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 272

FILMS *by Manny Farber* 274

RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 274

ART NOTES 275

LETTERS 276

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 509
by Frank W. Lewis 276

AROUND THE U. S. A.

A People Comes of Age
by G. W. Sherman opposite 257

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — *Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams — *Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz — *Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein — *Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Foreign Editor*

Harold Clurman — *Theater*
B. H. Haggin — *Music*
Gladys Whiteside — *Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting — *Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon — *Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

tion between the crew of the Pequod ("What a set these *Isolatoes* were!" wrote Melville; these "mariners, renegades, and castaways") and the aliens detained on Ellis Island. He finds a parallel, too, between Captain Ahab's pursuit of the White Whale "as the monomaniac incarnation of all those malicious agencies which some deep men feel eating in them," and the current policy of the Department of Justice toward the alien: the department's main purpose, he writes, "can be described as the extermination of the alien as a malignant pest." He has kind words for the staff on Ellis Island; what he complains about is an "anti-alien" crusade designed to reverse the historical traditions of the American people toward immigrants.

Fiscal Facts of Life

After two months in the White House the President is beginning to learn the fiscal facts of life. Gone with the wind are those airy campaign opinions about the possibility of huge cuts in expenditure; gone are the hopes held out for substantial reduction of taxes. Now he has discovered that cutting expenses is never easy, and unless Congress revolts, it is quite obvious that there will be no tax relief this year or perhaps next.

Quite properly Mr. Eisenhower is insisting that the budget must be balanced before tax reduction can be considered, and this has exposed him to a virulent blast from that G. O. P. veteran, Representative Daniel Reed of New York, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. Announcing that he had reluctantly abandoned his efforts to force a floor vote on his bill to reduce personal income taxes, Representative Reed said bitterly: "It is considered a crime for a person to buy a vote with money, but what shall we call it if a candidate for office gains office by making promises that are not fulfilled."

Mr. Reed has a point there, but the fact is that neither he nor the President nor any other politician had any right to hold out hopes of tax relief unless he was also prepared to advocate drastic changes in the nation's cold-war strategy. Probably one or two billions can be trimmed from the budget by increasing efficiency and exercising superfluities. But to achieve a balance, let alone a surplus for tax reduction, it would be necessary to recast the defense program in a smaller mold. Clearly the President does not think that is feasible under present international conditions. Indeed, he may find himself compelled to expand the program to provide stronger defenses against atomic attack.

The Threat of Surpluses

Commenting last week on his appointment of Lewis Douglas to head a study of foreign economic problems, the President remarked that the country must be sure

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that its surpluses are taken up. This is an approach to trade policies that has been unduly neglected of late. Since the war, by and large, surpluses have not been a serious problem; they have been taken care of by a vast expansion in domestic consumption and by the growth of exports financed to a considerable extent by grants and loans to foreign countries. Now a new phase appears to be at hand. Although domestic consumption remains very large, industrial production in many lines is beginning to overtake it. And in the field of agriculture we have mounting surpluses of several leading commodities. Export markets, however, are threatening to grow tighter, partly because of production recoveries abroad, partly because many foreign countries are becoming as reluctant to accept more American aid as Congress is to grant it. But the dollar gap remains. If it is filled by neither aid nor trade, it will be shrunk by a reduction in American exports on a scale that will create real surplus problems for many American farmers and some American industries.

This is something for Congress to think about next month when it takes up the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. It can safely be prophesied that hearings on this measure will attract a host of special interests clamoring for maintenance of present protective duties, if not for higher ones. Should this pressure prove effective, it will not be just the foreigner who will pay. The cost will also fall heavily on American farmers and workers—on the growers of wheat and cotton and the makers of steel, machinery, trucks, and a host of other products. Here again is a challenge to Republican leadership and to the traditional high-tariff policy of the G. O. P.

Death of an Idealist

In the death of Haym Greenberg the world has lost a fine mind and an exceptional exponent of humanism. A citizen of this country, he was perhaps the chief political theoretician of Labor Zionism; he held high office in the Zionist movement, and was an author, editor, and orator of extraordinary gifts. But to say all this is to tell only half the story. For Haym Greenberg was preeminently a moral leader, devoted throughout his life to the concept that political action must be firmly based in humanism and cultural values. His Jewish nationalism was never chauvinism; it was always tinctured by his feeling for the universality of mankind. Speaking of the "territorial roots" which Israel has given the Jewish people, he once warned: "I would be less than honest if I failed to note a spiritual danger which may arise from the accentuation—or rather the hyperemphasis—of our new orientation toward space." Few men of our time were more sensitive than Haym Greenberg to the need for bringing into concord the divergent concepts of nationalism and internationalism.

Runaway Inquiries

AN INTERESTING aspect of the protracted controversy over the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been that whenever public criticism of the committee has mounted it has been momentarily deflected by a fortuitous change in personnel or by pious expressions of an intention to tidy up its methods and procedures. During these spasms of contrition the big guns on the editorial desks have boomed forth the theme that there is nothing basically wrong with the committee's purposes or objectives; it is only its "methods" that are objectionable. But while these recurrent moods of public penance have quieted criticism, they have failed to produce significant reforms.

Recently still another batch of proposals to reform the methods of Congressional committees of inquiry has been stimulated by the "excesses" of current hearings. On February 10 Senator Kefauver introduced Senate Resolution 10, which would establish uniform rules for all such committees; Senator Morse followed up on February 20 by introducing a similar resolution (S. R. 83); and on March 12 Representative Kenneth B. Keating, the Republican chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee to investigate the Department of Justice, announced a new set of rules for that committee. These latest proposals have evoked the usual editorial hosannahs with such familiar captions as "A Stand for Freedom," "Fair Investigatory Practices," "Back to Fact-finding," and "Curbing the Investigators." Again the public is being led to believe that the committees, regretting recent "excesses," will sin no more.

With requests for a hundred probes now pending, there can be no doubt that Congress should adopt a set of uniform rules governing the conduct of hearings. Each committee now makes its own rules, and while there is some similarity there is also much variation in practice. The proposals offered by Senator Morse impress us as being particularly good. Committee hearings could be called only with a minimum of twenty-four hours written notice to each member and by approval of a majority vote in a meeting at which a majority was present. Witnesses would have the right to be accompanied by counsel, and the rights of counsel would be defined. Testimony would have to be "relevant and germane." Witnesses would be given some indication in advance of the scope and subject matter of their examination. They would have the right to make complete answers and to offer concise explanations of their answers. They would also have the right to offer a statement at the conclusion of their testimony. More important, persons adversely affected by testimony would have the right to appear by counsel, to cross-examine adverse witnesses, and, subject to the discretion of the committee, to procure subpoenas calling for the production of documents and witnesses.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

While even these rules fall short of the standards of impartiality and fairness that prevail in England under the Tribunals of Inquiry Act of 1921, they are a notable improvement over current practices here.

But the best rules cannot correct evils which flow not from the manner but from the nature of the inquiry. If Congress is investigating a matter entirely beyond the wide area of its legitimate concerns, fair codes of inquiry will not protect constitutional relations from the resulting damage. The basic question is simply this: Should there be no limitation whatever on the power of Congress to investigate? Can it investigate any subject it wishes, including those on which it could not legislate? If there is no limitation on the power, then Congress has acquired a new dominance not only over the executive and judicial branches of the government but over the people. While the courts are showing a willingness to restrict Congressional inquiries to the subject matter defined in the resolution of authorization, the larger question has not been answered. For example, can Congress, for any purpose, inquire into matters of individual conscience and belief? Most of the proposals for the reform of Congressional inquiries sidestep this issue. One proposal, for example, would preclude a committee from inquiring into such matters "unless a majority of the committee thought it was necessary!" And even Senator Morse, who has shown a lively awareness of the need for reform, would apparently place no limitation on the subjects into which such a committee might inquire. In a recent speech in Chicago he took the position that teachers have nothing to fear from the pending Congressional investigations of education.

BUT THERE are some subjects, surely, into which Congress should not be permitted to inquire, and these areas need to be defined. Recently Mr. Velde threatened to summon before the House Committee on Un-American Activities a number of leading Protestant clergymen who had criticized its work. As though in response to this suggestion, Glenn L. Archer, executive director of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, announced that Mr. Velde and Senator Jenner should seriously consider "an inquiry into the un-American doctrines which are currently being taught in Roman Catholic parochial schools, many of which are receiving large amounts of public support." With the utmost respect for Mr. Archer and the organization for which he speaks, we trust that this suggestion will not be adopted. Nevertheless, it does raise an important question: If Congress has the right to meddle in the affairs of education, why should the parochial schools of the Catholic church enjoy a special immunity?

If there is no subject into which Congress cannot probe, then Congressional committees of inquiry can be used to break down the traditional separation of the powers of government. On the one hand, Senator McCarthy is asserting the power to dictate personnel policies and practices to the Executive branch of the government; on the other, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has virtually abandoned the fiction that it does not place individuals on trial. Recently, for example, Representative Donald L. Jackson, speaking for the committee, said: "We're not interested in textbooks . . . we're after Communists." If Congressional committees insist upon the power to "try" individuals, they are to this extent usurping the judicial function. And when such committees insist upon their power to subject private citizens—citizens not employed by any public agency—to a form of political catechism that finds no sanction in the Constitution, they are violating the spirit if not the letter of the First Amendment and encroaching on rights reserved to the people under the Ninth and Tenth. "Congressional investigations," said the New York *Times* the other day, "are not judicial proceedings. . . ." "Committees are not courts," echoed the New York *Herald Tribune*. But unfortunately a wealth of evidence indicates that the committees *are* functioning as if they were special tribunals set up to try political offenders.

NOT TO recognize this as a process of trial and punishment is to betray an amazing blindness to social reality. "No punishment?" asked counsel for the defendant in a famous early American case (40 Mo. 340, decided in 1867); "I defy the history of the world to invent a punishment more refined and ingenious than to punish a man through his love of truth. . . . It is indeed an ingenious punishment; it dispenses with statutes defining offenses and providing penalties therefor, it dispenses with courts, with all their paraphernalia of indictments by grand juries and trials by petit juries, executing the law upon offenders; all that is needed is that a law be passed every year or two requiring every citizen to swear that he has never wronged or defrauded anyone; that he has never slandered his neighbor; that he has never committed murder, burglary, larceny, adultery, or fornication; and if he cannot thus swear, then forbid him to follow any profession, trade, or calling, for that will not be punishment inflicted upon him, but a mere regulation." The same point, of course, is made in the old story about the Quaker and his dog Tray. "Go to," said the Quaker to poor Tray, "I will not kill thee, but I will give thee a bad name." And so he turned poor Tray into the streets with the cry of "Mad dog!" and then someone else did kill poor Tray.

Congress should of course be encouraged to adopt a uniform set of rules governing the conduct of committee hearings, but let no one believe that rules alone will check runaway inquiries. Now as always the best way to stop a runaway is to slam on the brakes, pull hard on the reins, and yell "whoa!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Rabelais: 1483-1953

THE anniversaries of the world's intellectual and spiritual heroes offer us a salutary opportunity to appraise ourselves and our progress. Last year we celebrated the birthdays of Victor Hugo and of Emile Zola. At present four hundred years after his death, another great Frenchman, François Rabelais, is being honored all over Europe.

Rabelais represents better than anyone else certain aspects of the Man of the Renaissance and gives a measure of that extraordinary epoch in which Europe itself was re-created and renewed. He came upon the scene at a revolutionary moment. The outlines of the upper classes were crumbling. The feudal lord was ceasing to seem a paternal ruler; the church was devoting itself increasingly to the pursuit of wealth and power, and the papacy was discredited; the ancient brilliance of the Empire was tarnished. An insatiable thirst for knowledge turned the European man to philosophy, mathematics, physics, and medicine. At the same time the religious reformers, intentionally or not, were undermining the old social and cultural order and helping to open the way to a freer era.

In the sphere of literature this mission was undertaken by a master of satire, the author of a work of striking originality: "Les horribles espouvantables faicts et prouesses du très renommé Pantagruel, Roy des Dipsodes, fils du grand Géant Gargantua." This is the imaginary history of a dynasty of giants, remotely based on the chronicle of King Arthur and the Round Table. It was published under the nom de plume of Maistre Alcofribas Nasier, an anagram on François Rabelais.

The actual date of Rabelais' birth is still a matter of dispute, but the most generally accepted year, 1483, also saw the birth of Luther and Raphael, assuring him entry into the world in distinguished company. Rabelais began his higher education in a Franciscan monastery, where he learned Latin, studied scholastic philosophy, and entered into a correspondence with the French humanist Budaeus. His academic achievements brought him into conflict with the heads of the order and forced him to shift to a Benedictine monastery, where the atmosphere was more tolerant. He did not remain there long. Leaving the shelter of the cloister, he led for a time the life of a secular priest, defying ecclesiastical discipline and bringing upon himself charges of apostasy. He next enrolled at the University of Montpellier, where he studied medicine and obtained a bachelor's degree. To earn his daily bread he practiced as a physician in Montpellier and later in the city of Lyon, at that time an important cultural center in close contact with Basel, the residence of Erasmus, and with Geneva, shortly to become one of the strongholds of the Reformation. The publication of "Gargantua" made him famous overnight.

The theologians of the Sorbonne, whom he attacked with devastating humor, promptly condemned the book, but clerical censure could not stop its circulation or dull its effect. "Gargantua" encouraged the Paris Protestants to cover the walls of the royal palace with blasphemous posters denouncing the Pope and his cardinals. The ensuing uproar forced Calvin and the poet Marot to flee for their lives across the border; Rabelais himself was saved from severe persecution by the recognition of his talent in high places. The third volume of "Gargantua" appeared in 1546 under the protection of Francis I, who said he almost died laughing when he read it. Later, in a fourth volume, Rabelais used the conflict between the Pope and the new king, Henry II, as the starting-point for a riotous satire on the temporal ambitions of the papacy.

The reactionaries of his time were less benevolent toward him than the crown. The French Parliament was as bigoted as the Sorbonne and banned the sale of his book. In 1553 he was forced to relinquish his ecclesiastical position. His death in the same year may have been hastened by the intrigues and hostilities in which he was involved. Rabelais died in Paris and still rests in the rue des Jardins, buried under a tall tree that, like his fame, defied time, surviving until a few years ago.

From a 1532 edition of "Gargantua"

Many have seen in Rabelais only a kind of malicious faun, a cynic and a mocker—epithets to which Ronsard, the poet of the Pleiade, added that of drunkard. But his friend Du Bellay spoke of him as "l'utile and doux Rabelais." His immense talent as a writer permitted him to toss together facts and fables, myths, glosses, dialogues, observations, quotations, without ever burdening his story with pedantry. Besides being a great story teller, he was a superb polemicist who had declared war on the Middle Ages. He ridiculed without mercy everything in Europe's past that was sick, rotten, or against nature, beginning with war itself, but he was full of compassion for the oppressed and deceived. Every time he cracked his whip he felt it on his own flesh, for to him no protection was provided by the robes of doctor or monk.

It is this characteristic that especially distinguished him among the great writers of all periods who have not been satisfied with the pursuit of art for art's sake or for glory or wealth but have considered it their inescapable duty, at whatever cost, to take part in the social and political struggle of their time. His profound hatred of war makes him, even four centuries after his death, a *combattant de la paix.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RED CHINA DIARY

I. Prague to Peking . . . *by Desmond Donnelly*

[*This is the first of two articles by a Labor Member of Parliament who visited China a few months ago. The second will appear next week.*]

London

I WAS sitting on the lawn at home when the telephone rang. "Would you like to go to China in ten days' time, traveling via Moscow and Siberia?"

The invitation was from the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, a body sponsored by the Communist government. Questions flashed across my mind. Was this an attempt to get me involved in the germ-war scare or in the Pacific Peace Conference scheduled for the autumn? Was it to use me in some way for Communist propaganda in the Korean war? *But* would I be right to turn down an opportunity to be one of the first members of the British Parliament to see Red China since the revolution which has changed the government of one-fifth of all mankind? When I decided, curiosity won.

I was determined to see beyond the propaganda. To be fair and to try to understand, yet not to be hoodwinked. To be as objective as I could although the doctrines of communism are repugnant to me as a member of the British Labor Party.

We flew via Prague and Moscow. Prague is a beautiful but sad city. The people are well dressed and well fed but looked dazed. Slogans about American aggression shriek at you on every street corner. Difficult to find but nevertheless real was the feeling that the struggle for the body of Czechoslovakia still goes on in this no man's land of the cold war.

Flying over Russia, for five hundred miles beyond Minsk we scarcely saw a landmark, just forest and more forest. In fact, the only thing I recall was the old walled city of Smolensk and its railway junction. And then, towering on the skyline, we saw the white pinnacles of Moscow's new university, forty or fifty miles away. It stands nearly 1,000 feet high. One of my companions turned to me and said, "What a guiding beacon for enemy bombers if this country meant war." The buildings were begun in 1949 and open their doors next summer to 6,000 technical students.

We spent three days in Moscow before traveling east on the Russian internal airlines. There was great building activity, the university being only one of several skyscrapers in course of construction. East of the Ural Mountains new building was even more apparent. Between plane and plane, in a day at Novosibirsk and two days at Irkutsk, I saw cities of half a million people rising like the American boom towns of the Middle West. Factory chimneys towered against the sky. Construction seemed to be going on everywhere.

Many things reminded me of Victorian England, too. Plush draperies, heavy ornaments, and glittering steel bedsteads were the order of the day everywhere. In my hotel bedroom at Irkutsk, I had a brand new inkstand made of white marble weighing the best part of sixty pounds, with inkwells the size of large coffee pots. This obvious badge of privilege didn't prevent me from being badly bitten by bedbugs that night.

Going east again across Outer Mongolia, we stopped to refuel in the Gobi Desert. While waiting I played football with two Russian boys, children of the refueling staff. In the air once more, we climbed eastward across the mountains which lay between us and China.

Suddenly somebody said, "There's the Great Wall of China." Winding its way over the hills and down through valleys, it was exactly as I had pictured it. Twenty minutes later the hills disappeared, the flat plains of China lay below us and then the green roofs of Peking.

We were met at the airport by half a dozen ministers and officials and a crowd of schoolgirls carrying bunches of flowers. At first I dismissed this as typical delegation-reception technique, intended to win us by flattery. However, as the days went by I could not deny the genuine warmth of the welcome we got, especially from the ordinary people in the shops and streets.

THE MOST extraordinary thing I saw in Peking was three men chasing two flies. And the explanation was almost as surprising as the sight. A new health drive had been initiated by the Communist government a year before. Posters, propaganda, and meetings of all kinds were used to try to rid China of the germs of the past. Then suddenly had come the germ-war scare. The effect was electric. In this hot Eastern city, with the temperature in the eighties, not a fly was to be seen—not in the bazaars and food markets or in the streets and narrow alleys between the houses.

The flies have been eradicated by a universal effort to avoid leaving food or waste around. But the health campaign has gone much farther. A typical poster advertised vaccination against smallpox. In the center a smiling girl was being vaccinated and not minding. On the left was someone who had evidently not been vaccinated and was dying. On the right a girl was standing immune while cartoon germs buzzed round her. An inset at the bottom showed an American airman spraying germs from his plane. The Chinese claim that in three years 307,000,000 people have been vaccinated.

Inflation and food supplies were two of the biggest tasks facing the Reds after the revolution. All the evidence seemed to be that food supplies were now adequate: there was nothing like the poverty in Peking that I had seen in parts of Russia.

To stabilize real wages, the Communists have instituted a system of fixing wages not in money but in units. A man's daily wage can be any number of units, and each morning the newspapers publish the value of the unit in Chinese

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people's dollars, based on the cost of living at current prices. If prices go up or down, his wages go up or down.

Many shops contained such articles as can be bought in almost any British or American city. I had expected to find the shops state-owned, but in Peking there were only two state stores and in Shanghai three or four. These had much the same range of articles as the privately owned shops, but I found them to be busier and was told this was because prices were slightly lower. The state store I visited in Shanghai was just like a London department store. You could buy almost anything you liked. (I was very glad to get a box of American cigars, unobtainable in England.)

Most people dress much as they used to, but the official classes, men and women, wear a new drill uniform without badges or medals of any kind, rather like the early Russian Communist uniform. The color varies according to one's category in the regime. For instance, a Foreign Office official I met wore brown. The Chinese even sent a tailor to our hotel asking us if we would like a uniform ourselves. The color we were offered was blue, the badge of the intellectual. Modesty compelled me to decline.

I ASKED about trials and executions, particularly about the so-called mass courts in which the accused is tried in front of several thousand people and a general vote taken at the end. Here is what a professor of law at Peking University told me:

"Certainly these trials have occurred. If a person has racketeered in vice or been guilty of murder and has been able to get away with it because he was given political protection by Chiang Kai-shek's regime, the people naturally want to square accounts with him as soon as he loses his political power. The sort of person subjected to this type of treatment was frequently a feudal landlord. Anybody who had a charge to make could come forward in front of the whole community. Frequently indictments took several hours. The accused then had the opportunity of replying, calling any witnesses he liked."

"But what chance has the poor chap of getting anybody to testify for him, in such a hostile atmosphere?" I interjected.

The professor dismissed my question by saying there was much more toleration in China than I was prepared to concede, and went on: "When the evidence has been heard on both sides, there is a general discussion. At the end a vote is taken. What could be more democratic?"

"But what happens if there is a large dissenting minority?"

"Oh well, the discussion goes on again. We have no need to hurry in China," said the professor.

In Peking jail I was told that 70 per cent of the prisoners were political and

the other 30 per cent guilty of regular crimes. When pressed on this point, the governor said that one typical "reactionary political" crime was rape. When I asked him how this could possibly be classified as political, he said, "Oh, you don't understand. All this sort of thing was associated with the Chiang Kai-shek regime."

Shanghai jail was grim in the extreme. In each tiny little cell five or six men were silently squatting the hours and the years away. Here and there in the jails I ran across what we in Britain call discussion groups—people sitting and talking together. I asked what they were doing and was told that they were being "remolded."

This "remolding" is a feature of Communist China, for the government is trying to carry with it as many people as possible. If you are prepared to abide by the rules of the new regime and to "remold" yourself, then there is a place for you. Discussion groups for the "remolded" go on everywhere. Even the university student who was attached to me as an interpreter was going through a course of "remolding" in order to be equipped with "the weapons of Marxism-Leninism as expounded by Mao Tse-tung."

One person who had "remolded" himself extremely well and found that the new society had glittering prizes to offer was ex-General Fu, one of Chiang Kai-shek's former generals and the man who surrendered Peking to the Communists three years ago. I was amazed to find Mr. Fu a minister in the new government, in charge of water conservation and drainage, one of the key posts in the battle for food production. He still looked and spoke like a martinet as he ordered tea for us to drink.

LAND REFORM is the key to Mao Tse-tung's power. In the early years of the Chinese Communist Party, after its foundation in 1920, the doctrinaire theoreticians always insisted that the revolution would have to be made by the industrial workers in the cities—the orthodox Marxist convention. Mao, however, said that in China, with its 400,000,000 peasants, it must be an agrarian revolution. In 1927 the party leadership split, and Mao was driven into the countryside in disgrace. Himself the son of a peasant farmer, the indigenous product of the Chinese village, he organized his own Communist Party in the villages, built it up through the years, and finally brought it to victory. Long before the end the theoreticians threw in their hands and acknowledged that he had been right.

In the old days peasants used to live or die on the food they produced from holdings averaging one-ninth of an acre. A trick of the weather could mean death. Yet some landlords owned many acres. Mao proposed to confiscate the land and divide it equally among everybody. Now he has done it, more than trebling the average holding. He has also given 40,000,000 shareholders a vast vested interest in his regime.

Having asked to see examples of the new land reform, I was sent to a village about twenty miles from Peking. The village had been given only eight hours' notice that we were were coming, and it was clearly no showpiece, for though it was clean and tidy everybody still lived in mud huts. It had one shop, which was the village cooperative. For its news about the outside world it depended on a wall newspaper where items were chalked up on a blackboard.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I was surprised to find that even in the village there was scarcely a fly about.

One of the people with whom I spoke was the president of the local Peasants' Association. I asked him what he did before the revolution. He said he was a peddler, but because he was the only person who had agitated against the landlords he was made head of the Peasants' Association as soon as the local landlord was ousted. He took me to the landlord's house, which was now the village hospital clinic. Patients were attended twice a week by two Chinese doctors who came on their bicycles, since cars are practically non-existent.

Although there were so few cars, I had one placed at my disposal—a large black American Cadillac which had been captured from Chiang Kai-shek. Was I allowed to go where I wanted to, or was I to see only what was good for me? Well, I had this car and a chauffeur and an interpreter, and whenever I asked for anything, it always seemed that my request was granted if it was humanly possible.

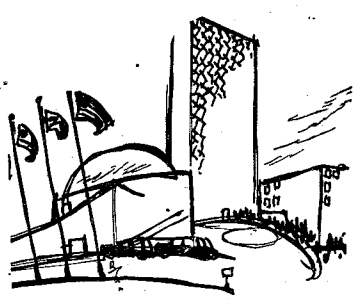
MOVE THE U. N.?

The Neutral-Host Concept . . . *by Jean Berlitz*

THE United Nations is sick. The symptoms, apparent to many for years, are now past concealment, and the most optimistic friends cannot deny a vast sadness. Confronted from the beginning with unforeseen world conditions for which it was structurally unprepared, the U. N. drags out its chronic invalidism in the chromium and glass cage on East Forty-second Street. Its decline is not, however, incurable. A remedy is available, and its use would give a tremendous lift to U. N. activities. The United Nations should move to a healthier climate, outside New York City.

The need for heroic treatment is undeniable. The history of the U. N. is one of failure and feebleness, of distortions of original purpose, of solemn resolutions remaining always a dead letter, of accumulating blots on its good name. Mutual distrust between East and West has blocked all progress and been the great impediment to a fair functioning of the organism. And this distrust is constantly exacerbated by the location of the United Nations inside the territory of one of the antagonists. About this, indeed, something can be done.

What would the Americans think if U. N. headquarters had been placed in Moscow or Leningrad, if pro-American members of the Secretariat or anyone who at any time had expressed his faith



in the capitalist system were evicted from the organization after examination by a Communist commission, if a secret agreement to that effect had been signed by the Secretary General and the Russian government? True the Russians themselves have made no move to correct this state of affairs, probably because the discredit which it throws upon the organization serves their purpose. But it is amazing that the leaders of the great powers should have placed an international organization which was to maintain peace between two conflicting ideologies in the stronghold of one of them.

At the time persons who were fearful of American isolationism argued that the new organization must be installed in the New World in order to secure America's continued interest in world affairs. To this it was replied that the United States, whether it liked it or not, had become a world power with corresponding commitments. It was surely not occupying Germany and Japan because of its membership in the United Nations. Similarly there is little doubt that the United States would have intervened in Korea even if the United Nations had not existed. When New York was chosen for U. N. headquarters, some observers remarked that while the League of Nations had died from the absence of the United States, the United Nations might die from its ubiquitous presence.

Certainly the United States heavily dominates the administration of the United Nations and retains over the American members of the Secretariat an influence incompatible with the independence and international character of the organization. Even the foreign staff, completely submerged in the American scene, is being gradually Americanized. The recent row over "insecurity" in the Secretariat has proved that the United Nations cannot remain within the territory of a great power without losing more and more of its international character. Its removal to the milder political climate of a small neutral country is essential to its survival.

It may even be argued that the United Nations should not have its headquarters in any of the big cities of the world; it should not be subjected to any kind of mob influence. From this point of view New York is a particularly bad site, being extraordinarily vulnerable to minor disturbances unrelated to international developments. A city like New York can be badly tied up, for example, by a numerically trivial number of strikers, a handful of determined

JEAN BERLITZ is the pseudonym of a member of the U. N. Secretariat now stationed abroad.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men like the tugboat crews. Even the physical conditions in the glass menagerie on the East River are a needless handicap—four skyscraping smokestacks from the power house a block away poisoning the atmosphere with their fumes, the United Nations shadowed and discolored by the Consolidated Edison Company, a more powerful and at present more useful institution.

THE OUTBREAK of war would make a neutral location for the U. N. imperative. One bomb, not aimed at the U. N. as such but at a vital American port and a major industrial center, would paralyze if not destroy the world organization. The tall glass Secretariat building would become an empty shell at the first blow—the specialized personnel, the documents, the sum total of the U. N.'s assets and negotiating tools scattered to the winds when they would be most needed.

One argument advanced against transferring U. N. headquarters to another place is the money that has been spent on the present structure. It is easily answered. Apart from the fact that the Secretariat building was cleverly designed so that it could be converted into an office building, the initial cost has already been repaid, in practice if not in theory, by the profits accruing to Americans from the U. N.'s presence here.

Much is made of the fact that the United States pays about 40 per cent of the U. N. budget. It is forgotten that some 90 per cent of the salaries of the staff, the entire amount spent for administrative expenses and for paper, equipment, printing, and so on, the disbursements of the national delegations and their families, of the foreign visitors and press, all revert to the United States. The United States has probably not only recouped its own 40 per cent share of the $40,000,000 budget of the United Nations but has received in the form of dollar payments within its territory the major part of the 60 per cent contributed by other countries. The United States can write off the cost of the headquarters buildings and still show a profit.

From the financial angle the removal of the United Nations from New York would have another advantage. Because of the universal dollar shortage many countries are hard put to find the currency to pay for their share of the budget and the expenses of their national delegation in one of the most expensive cities of the world.

The American people should not regard the transfer of U. N. headquarters to another site as a blow to their pride. An error was made. Let it be rectified. The moment is eminently suitable for a vigorous effort to give a new look to international politics.

LESS POWER TO YOU!

The Attack on Public Power . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

THE forced resignation of Claude R. Wickard as head of the Rural Electrification Administration does not stand by itself. It is part of the present Administration's relentless attack on the whole public-power program. I do not mean that the program cannot continue without Mr. Wickard. What makes his removal important is the way it was done and accompanying events.

The job of administrator of the R. E. A. is supposed to be non-political and for a fixed number of years. Mr. Wickard's term had approximately three years to run. He resigned because the high command in the Department of Agriculture, of which the R. E. A. is a part, made it clear that if he did not jump he would be pushed. Oddly enough, this marked the coming home to roost of a rather clumsily begotten chicken which first took flight in the regime of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Roosevelt dismissed Arthur E. Morgan from the chairmanship of the Tennessee Valley Authority after a public disagreement between Morgan and David Lilienthal, a T. V. A. director, over negotiations to buy the Tennessee Electric Power Company. Morgan fought his dismissal in the courts—like Wickard, he held a non-political job for a stated term of years—and the courts finally ruled in effect that the President had the power to say whether the occupant of such a job had conducted himself in a way to warrant his dismissal.

In the act creating the R. E. A. tenure of office was defined in roughly the same language as in the act creating the T. V. A. This fact and the court decision in the Morgan case were cited to Wickard to indicate that the President could summarily remove him if he chose. When Wickard protested that there was no proper ground for his removal, he was informed that inasmuch as he had been a Cabinet member under a Democratic President he was a political character and consequently did not belong in a non-political job.

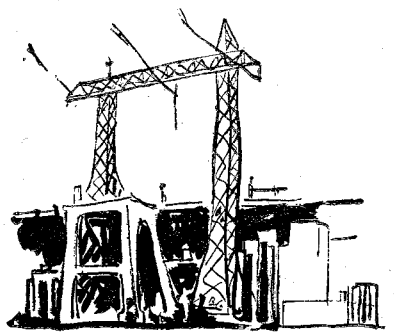
So Wickard resigned. Behind his resignation is the big argument now going on over one of the fundamental features of the public-power program—the R. E. A.'s authority to lend money to cooperatives and groups of cooperatives which wish to build electric transmission and generating facilities. With such loans the rural-electrification co-ops are out from under the dominance of the public utilities. Without them they are at the utilities' mercy.

The R. E. A. makes its loans only in areas where insufficient power is available at reasonable rates to meet the needs of the members of the rural co-ops. In

BRUCE CATTON is a contributing editor of The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the past the utilities have sometimes taken over co-ops that were not able to get an adequate power supply. Proponents of the R. E. A.'s loan program believe that if it is sufficiently weakened,



there will be many more such cases. A co-op unable to build transmission lines or generating facilities would be easy prey for the nearest utility.

Wickard's forced resignation is taken as a strong indication that the R. E. A. is to be directed by someone much less anxious to push the electrification program. It may be significant that on the day it was announced there were persistent rumors that his successor would be Ancher Nelson, lieutenant governor of Minnesota and a former vice-president of the Minnesota Rural Electric Cooperative Association. At the last Republican National Convention, Nelson sat in with the group that was drafting the agricultural plank and displayed a good deal of antipathy toward loans for generating plants and transmission lines.

Before Wickard's resignation the R. E. A. program had already taken a couple of serious blows in the sacred name of economy. Just after President Eisenhower took office, he ordered all departments and agencies to review their construction programs and halt nonessential projects. On the heels of the White House order Secretary of Agriculture Benson directed his subordinates to hold spending and commitments in the department for the balance of the fiscal year at the January level. In January the R. E. A. had lent just under $10,000,000. It can therefore lend slightly less than $60,000,000 during the six months that will end July 1. It has available, however, in budget authorizations for loans, $91,000,000, plus some $16,000,000 from loans previously revoked. The economy order, therefore, knocked $47,000,000 off the lending program for the first half of 1953.

Meanwhile under the White House order the army has stopped construction of Table Rock Dam in Missouri, which was to have provided extensive generating capacity for R. E. A. co-ops. Originally, the government had built Bull Shoals Dam to meet the co-ops' needs, but construction of a defense aluminum plant in Arkansas diverted that power. Now there will not be enough electricity generated to meet the needs of co-ops in Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas.

EVEN MORE SERIOUS consequences to the public-power program may flow from some recent court decisions. The Supreme Court of Arkansas has ruled that the federal government has no authority to sell steam-generated power. Under acts of Congress, said the court, the government can sell hydroelectric power at wholesale, but it cannot sell it at retail by integrating steam power into public projects. If applied all across the board, this ruling could badly cripple government power projects which use steam power to firm-up water power.

And now the United States Supreme Court has upheld the granting of a license to the Virginia Electric Power Company on the famous Roanoke Rapids site.

The army engineers had drafted, and Congress had approved, a development plan for the Roanoke River basin. One project had been built by the government upstream, at Bugg's Island. The existence of Bugg's Island dam, which is principally a water-storage and flow-regulating work, immediately made the Roanoke Rapids site feasible for power development. In effect, the government has made it possible to generate large quantities of hydroelectric power at Roanoke Rapids, and a private company reaps the benefit.

The shadow of this decision may fall a long way. Conceivably, it may reach all the way to Idaho, where the great Hell's Canyon site on the Snake River is wanted by a private power company. In each case a river is under development by the government, and a power company is eager to generate power at a likely site on the river. Pending before the Federal Power Commission is an application by the Idaho Power Company to develop a power project at Ox Bow—a site that will be inundated if the long-dreamed-of federal project at Hell's Canyon is built. And it will not be long before the commission is revamped by new appointments made by this Administration.

AS A CLIMAX TO all these attacks on public power there may be revived the famous "de-socializing" plan proposed last year by Charles E. Wilson, the former head of General Electric who served as Defense Mobilization Administrator. Mr. Wilson proposed that the government sell off its entire public power plant—T. V. A., the Columbia River developments, Hoover Dam, and all the rest. The money received would go to shrink the government debt; the properties in question would start to pay taxes; the government would be out of the electric-power business; and there would be an end to "creeping socialism," once and for all.

Nothing was said about this during the campaign last summer, but in September the usually well-informed magazine *U. S. News and World Report* remarked that "the plan will be explored, and may get a try, if Republicans control the White House and Congress after next January 20." Moreover, when General Eisenhower discussed river development in a speech at Seattle last October, he said: "I am convinced, out of my experience with some very big jobs, that the way to do it is by a sharing of effort rather than by its concentration. That means the full use of private resources, plus a local-state-federal partnership, here in the state of Washington and the Northwest, rather than dependence upon a daily directive from Washington, D. C."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THAT CRITICAL STRIKE

Can It Be Avoided? . . *by John T. Dunlop*

THERE can be no single standardized formula for settling what are called "emergency" disputes between labor and management—that is, disputes in areas vital to the defense, health, or safety of the nation. For there is no way to still the insistent question: if it fails, then what? If mediation fails, then what? If fact-finding and recommendations do not produce a settlement, then what? If seizure and injunction accomplish nothing, then what? If the leaders are put in jail and there is still no settlement, then what?

Ways of *stimulating* settlements, however, do exist—mediation, fact-finding and recommendations, and more mediation. And about these a number of useful things can be said. It is a basic premise that every labor dispute, certainly every "emergency" dispute, is in some respect unique. Accordingly, procedures for stimulating a settlement should be so far as possible tailor-made to the case. A single legislative prescription for all situations, including those that may conceivably arise in the future, will inevitably be ill adapted to many of them.

No machinery to settle disputes can remain the same over a long period of time. Use changes it. Grievance machinery set up in a contract five years ago works differently today. The Railway Labor Act and the emergency boards appointed under it, for instance, operate differently now that the parties have adjusted their tactics to the existence of these boards. The principle remains true even when the parties using the machinery change or when recourse to it is infrequent. Mr. Lewis and the United Mine Workers were fined once for contempt of an injunction. On the second round Judge Keech found no violation. This experience has not been missed by other unions.

The very label of an "emergency" dispute depends on the imminence of the danger. And on this there may be great difficulty in getting any consensus, since judgment involves assumptions about the future and the enemy. It seems to me that, in the end, the President should make the decision. No one else has all the information or should be saddled with the responsibility.

In the handling of emergency disputes two separate questions must be considered: how to keep essential production or services going, and how to settle the dispute. Continued production can be secured in a number of ways:

the threatened stoppage may be postponed for a period; the strikers may permit minimum production for vital needs; an injunction may be granted and be respected; seizure may be used. In this country at present seizure is the last resort. It works in part because the government may then obtain an injunction to prevent a strike but more because of the current moral conviction that "you don't strike against the government." In a different context this moral sanction might not work.

The most important question before the country at present in the field of labor legislation is not how to settle emergency disputes or revise the Taft-Hartley act, but rather by what process laws affecting collective bargaining are to be enacted. We face two broad alternatives. The first would make the legal framework of collective bargaining primarily a product of the political process: the details of a labor law depend narrowly upon the division in Congress on particular amendments. The second approach would place the responsibility more directly on labor and management. This approach would also cause the two parties to take a more active part in the *administration* of the legal process of collective bargaining. As a country we are far along on the first course, and in my judgment it is a very dangerous road.

IF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING is to be the cornerstone of our national labor policy, its legal framework cannot remain a partisan political matter. Neither industry nor labor can tolerate a change in the legal status of collective bargaining every two or four years after the election returns are in. Stable industrial relations cannot be built on such a shifting foundation.

Labor and industry must share actively in the development of a substitute for the Taft-Hartley act. The parties most directly affected should assume some responsibility for the legal framework of collective bargaining. The usual Congressional hearings are not enough, for in these, people state only their formal positions. In advance there must be informal consultations between representatives of union and management, with the assistance of neutrals. The next labor law must not be thrust down the throat of either side.

It seems certain that statutory provisions for dealing with emergency disputes will be on the books for some time to come. Unfortunately these provisions are likely to be influenced more by the politicians than by the parties to collective bargaining. It has occurred to me that there is an approach to the problem which deserves some attention.

The emergency provisions of the

JOHN T. DUNLOP, professor of economics at Harvard University, has been a member of some of the most important labor boards in the country and is the author of several books on collective bargaining and other aspects of the trade-union movement.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Taft-Hartley law have been invoked on ten occasions—in three coal cases, two maritime cases, and one each in meat packing, telephones, non-ferrous metals, atomic energy, and pipe manufacturing. Emergency disputes can arise in only a few sections of the economy, the most important being railroads, atomic energy, coal, shipping, and steel. In looking over this area of potential trouble it is interesting to observe that special machinery is in existence for the railroads and atomic energy. In my judgment emergency disputes have been most adequately handled in these two sectors because the machinery in both cases was in the main either designed by the parties to the dispute or if by others had won their full support and cooperation.

I believe that every attempt should be made in those sectors where there is no special machinery—coal, shipping, steel—to encourage the parties to develop their own procedures to mitigate emergency stoppages. The interposition of additional private machinery, or quasi-public machinery, is desirable between the initial breakdown of collective bargaining and resort to emergency-dispute procedures. The parties can help to develop "another place to go" before there is resort to generalized emergency procedure. If more legislation seems necessary, let a law be passed requesting the parties in these industries to submit to Congress within a year their suggestions for mitigating emergency-dispute stoppages. I have great confidence in the ability of the parties to develop such procedures. They can work out their own conciliation steps; they may decide to limit stoppages to some fraction of the total production of the industry; they may mutually select new wage leaders more apt to reach agreement; they may declare in advance their willingness to handle vital cargo or production. In brief, the subject of emergency disputes should itself, at the request of the government, become a subject of bargaining between the parties. The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service should take the lead in urging and aiding the parties in these directions.

In short, my suggestion is that the parties be encouraged to interpose a layer of private devices for settling disputes or insuring essential production and services before the general emergency-dispute provisions are invoked. These devices would of course be designed to suit the special problems of each industry.

I feel sure that in twenty-five years the emergency dispute will have ceased to be a serious problem. The public will have insisted that something be done about serious stoppages in vital areas. Under this pressure the parties in the several industries will develop their own procedures. I suggest that this approach be stimulated and hastened as a matter of public policy.

QUIRINO vs. U. S.

Philippine Land Reform . . *by Robert H. Sollen*

TWICE in recent months American technical-aid specialists in the Philippines have recommended immediate and sweeping land reforms as the best way to avert threatened rural revolt. And twice the Philippine government under President Elpidio Quirino has denounced these reports as "exaggeration," "party-line" propaganda, and "interference" with the internal affairs of the republic.

Now the only high Philippine official who has supported the principle of land reform has quit. "It would be useless for me to continue . . . killing Huks," said Ramón Magsaysay in resigning last month from his post as Quirino's Secretary of Defense, "as long as the administration continues to foster conditions which provide fertile soil for communism." Magsaysay then joined the opposition Nationalista Party and announced that he would be available for nomination for the presidency in the next election.

Ideologically, Magsaysay belongs with the new democratic Citizens' Party rather than with the Nationalistas, who are as reactionary as Quirino's Liberals. But he evidently feels that the new party is too weak to do him any good and for tactical reasons is going along with the Nationalistas. He was the only important member of the Quirino government who believed that communism could best be fought by raising the living standards of workers and farmers. The Nationalistas are accepting him not for his program but for his popularity among the common people.

American conclusions about the incredibly bad conditions in rural areas of the Islands are formulated in two documents. The first was prepared by Robert S. Hardie, land-tenure specialist of the Mutual Security Administration; the second is the work of Robert T. McMillan and other M. S. A. rural sociologists in collaboration with their counterparts on the Philippine Council for United States Aid (PHILCUSA). Hardie warned:

> Misery and unrest among tenants is being used to advance the goal of communism in Asia. . . . Open and violent rebellion, rooted in and fed by tenant discontent, threatens the very existence of the Philippine Republic. Land-tenure practices . . . threaten the United States position in Asia.

Quirino and certain members of the Philippine Congress denounced Hardie's report so violently that last December the American embassy in Manila

ROBERT H. SOLLEN, formerly of the Milwaukee Journal, *visited the Philippines last year during a swing through the Far East.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

canceled plans for its general circulation. Eugenio Perez, speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives, demanded that M. S. A. personnel in Manila be screened for "Communist sympathies," and linked Hardie to the "Communist line."

When the M. S. A. finally released the report, it had been thoroughly substantiated by the PHILCUSA findings, and both are supported by every recent agricultural, economic, and sociological study of the Philippines.

Various surveys have shown that from 3 to 10 per cent of the Filipino people own and control from 80 to 95 per cent of the nation's wealth. The middle class has been virtually eliminated. According to Hardie, about 35 per cent of the farmers are tenants and another 16 per cent are part owners. Tenancy runs up to 70 per cent in the areas where unrest is the greatest.

Rice yield per acre is no better than it was in 1918 and is now the second lowest in Asia. Half the farmers are working less than one-fifth of the tillable land; one-half of the tillable land is divided among one-eighth of the farms.

The PHILCUSA report points out that nearly half the Philippine villagers and farmers are worse off than they were ten years ago. Farmers are almost constantly in debt as the result of low yields, high rents, high taxes, and a credit system which demands up to 300 per cent a year interest on loans. The average owner-operator nets not more than $273 a year against family expenses of $544. The average tenant nets $183 against family expenses of $313.

SINCE ABOUT 72 per cent of the 21,000,000 Filipinos make their living from farming, agricultural reform is of primary importance. But the landowners and money lenders will not let go. Landowners pay an average land tax of 1 per cent a year and collect about 50 per cent of the yield in rent. It is not surprising that they oppose social change.

The head of the Mutual Security Administration in the Philippines, Dr. Roland R. Renne, supports Hardie's contentions. "Most farm families," he has stated, "lack fair returns for what they produce. There is need for cheaper and more widespread rural credit, for more equitable returns to tenants and small owners, for more opportunity for tenants to own land, and for other incentives that will encourage farm families to expand their operations." Dr. Renne has had no easy time with Philippine officialdom. Congress insists on playing politics with M. S. A. money, even to the extent of wanting funds distributed according to congressional districts. Dr. Renne has told the Congress that American-aid funds are for boosting national living standards, not for Congressmen to use as political leverage.

Meanwhile, President Quirino asserts that his program for resettling peasants on undeveloped public lands will ease the problem of land tenancy and rural insecurity. Hardie, however, anticipated this contention. His report says:

> The thought that the solution to Philippine agrarian unrest is to be found in the settlement of undeveloped areas is based on a false appraisal of the problem. Firstly, . . . increases in population will alone serve to neutralize the planned effects of emigration. Secondly, the acquisition and settlement of such land by one in the status of a typical Luzon tenant requires cash reserves he does not have. Lastly, . . . these newly developed areas are after all a part of the Philippines and subject to the laws and customs of the land. If not corrected, pernicious land-tenure practices which have led to violent rebellion in Luzon will be transported to the newly developed area [largely in Mindanao] and thus spread the misery and unrest. . . . Settlement of new areas is an imperative but it is no substitute for land-tenure reform.

It maintains also that undeveloped public lands cannot begin to absorb the number of families looking for land.

McMillan, who in the course of his sociological research has lived for months at a time with Filipino farmers, makes a strong plea for credit reform and, indeed, managed to push through Congress a law to aid small rural banks and provide reasonable credit facilities for rural development.

The Hardie report calls for government purchase of big landholdings, land redistribution through sale to tenants, and a rural economy based on owner-operated family-size farms. For those who must remain tenants, it advocates a land-rent ceiling of 25 per cent of the harvest and written tenancy contracts phrased in simple language. Landholders, it says, should take their money out of the land and put it into industrial production. "Industrial development suffers . . . as long as rentier wealth lies dormant in land."

Ramón Magsaysay

A Philippine law provides that if the landlord and tenant enter a contract, the rent is held to 30 per cent of the harvest. Most tenants, however, hesitate to bargain with their landlords for fear of being thrown off the land. A Philippine agricultural official who is also a landowner told me that his tenants pay him 50 per cent of their harvest under a verbal agreement. The effect of the law has been negligible compared with the extent of the tenancy problem.

We interviewed several farm families outside of Manila; we were not inclined to venture far into Huk territory. Most farmers said they were not getting enough from their own rice crop to feed their families. They ate almost nothing but rice and fish. Dr. Juan Salced, Jr., Secretary of Health, has said that "most of the people, especially in rural areas, suffer from some form of malnutrition."

During its nearly half-century of rule the United States did little to develop the Philippines for the benefit of the inhabitants. Recognizing at long last the danger of the situation, it has now recommended action and offered to cooperate. But the Philippine government refuses to go along with the American recommendations. Since it offers no substitute of any real value, the United States government should stand firm. It should again tell the Philippines that it cannot continue to bolster an economic and social system that breeds only social injustice and violence. In return for economic aid it must demand full cooperation in administering the program and democratic land reforms. Because of the impatience of the masses and the fast action of the Communists the reforms must be immediate and complete.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Prodigy's Escape

A Review by E. T. Bell

EX-PRODIGY. MY CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH. By Norbert Wiener. Simon and Schuster. $3.95.

A SUITABLE subtitle for this remarkably frank book might be, "How not to raise a gifted child." As Wiener implies, literate parents today know more than their ancestors of fifty years ago did about what to do and what not to do with a prodigy, thanks partly, as Wiener admits, to the work of Freud, although he explicitly repudiates the "Freudian jargon."

Poetry, music, and mathematics have had more than their share of prodigies. Of the mathematicians, some fulfilled their early promise; others did not. Pascal (1623-62), a self-torturing neurotic, never achieved the mathematical eminence his childhood seemed to promise. Gauss (1777-1855), the most astonishing example of precocity on record, became one of the three universally acknowledged greatest mathematicians in all history. Pascal's education was dominated by his scholarly father; Gauss's father was a laborer with only an elementary-school education, who never understood his son and who did all in his power to thwart the boy's intellectual ambitions. The contrast between Pascal and Gauss illustrates a radical difference between two types of prodigy: the sponge that seems capable of absorbing any given amount of erudition and even doing something with some of it; the born creator who takes what little he may need from the past and then strikes out on his own to explore unmapped territory. The creators usually start early, not later than about twenty. There is but one instance of a first-rank mathematician, Sophus Lie (1842-1899), starting late. Till he was twenty-eight Lie had little interest in mathematics. Then he suddenly woke up and in a matter of months accomplished the work of years and established himself.

WHERE DOES Wiener, now fifty-eight, fit into this scale? He undertakes to tell us. He had a scholarly, slave-driving father—although Wiener does not put the fact so harshly—and an inordinately ambitious mother. After an abortive start in biology and another in philosophy, apparently under the common delusion of the very young that whoever knows something of philosophy knows everything of everything, young Wiener turned to mathematics, where his talent lay. About the same time he shook off the clutch of his parents, as kindly as he could but none the less resolutely. Some years later he married. One of the finest things in the book is his tribute to his wife.

Wiener's father, a Russian Jew, emigrated from White Russia to the United States, pausing on the way in Berlin. "He arrived in New Orleans in 1880 with 50 cents in his pocket"—and a considerable stock of combative arrogance. Then followed the usual immigrant's saga of odd jobs for which he was not suited, till somehow he reached Kansas City. There he got a chance to exploit his philological and linguistic abilities by learning and teaching Gaelic. This earned him the honorary title of the "Russian Irishman." Though the father's personal adventures are absorbing, as Wiener retells them, the only one relevant here is his foray into pedagogy, with his son's precocious mind as the coveted booty. How successful he was may be inferred from Norbert's academic career: entered college before the age of twelve; bachelor's degree before fifteen; doctorate (from Harvard) before nineteen. It took the prodigy several years to break away from the implied paternal discipline and begin to outgrow and to live down his prodigious youth. He only really found himself when he began doing mathematical research of more than temporary interest. His childhood, apart from the incessant cramming, had been like that of any normal American boy, including games and fights.

THERE IS so much of interest in this honest autobiography that we must pass on to a few significant samples of the whole. At Harvard, Wiener had a short exposure to biology. He dropped the subject because his manual "clumsiness" made experiment unattainable. But it was not all a waste of time; years later he was to recall enough of what he had learned to help him in the field where he has done his most individual work, communications—the (possible) topology of the nervous system being one detail of the comprehensive program. Some of this appears in his popular book, "Cybernetics." Incidentally, the success of that book astonished Wiener's publishers and perhaps himself.

On the social level at Harvard the young prodigy suffered humiliations, partly on account of his "Jewishness." The snobbish exclusiveness—or what he took for that—and the pronounced anti-Semitism gave him a galling sense of inferiority. Why this obviously superior young man should have felt himself an inferior freak is not clear. He was not alone in his precocity. In 1909 there were other prodigies with him—Roger Sessions, then nearly fifteen and a first-year graduate student, and A. A. Berle, among others. One of them achieved an unenviable fame as a prodigy: W. J. Sidis, a grievously miseducated young man who finally rebelled against his upbringing and his journalistic fame. He accomplished nothing.

Wiener sampled the Philosophy Department at Harvard. It evidently has survived his pungent comments. Some of his portraits of the Harvard faculty are done in chemically pure caustic. President Lowell happily has passed on; so he is spared the discomfort of seeing himself as Wiener saw him. Likewise for W. F. Osgood, the czar of Harvard mathematics in his day, who

---

E. T. BELL, professor of mathematics at the California Institute of Technology, is the author of numerous books on mathematics and allied subjects, the latest being "Mathematics, Queen and Servant of Science." Under the name of John Taine he has written many exciting whodunits.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

according to Wiener was so chagrined at his failure to grasp the revolutionary Lebesgue theory of integration, which lay right under his hand, that he forbade the teaching of it at Harvard.

Wiener's emancipation began at the age of nineteen, when (1913) he went to Cambridge, England, to study under Bertrand Russell. His appraisal of the English upper classes will not please our friends across the Atlantic. He found them snobbish and callously cruel to their social inferiors. After meeting some of the leading British mathematicians, who befriended him, he modified this somewhat brash opinion. Russell of course was cordial and helpful. His liberalism was warming after the cold New England Puritanism.

Trips to Germany (Munich), back to Cambridge, then to Göttingen, broadened his mind if not always his sympathies. The family went along. When the war broke in 1918, he returned to Columbia University, where he was unpopular. From all these journeyings we get sketches by a young man just emerging from adolescence of some of the "greats" in the mathematics of the near past—Hardy, Landau, Klein, and the last of the giants from the nineteenth century, Hilbert. All are now dead.

AT THE AGE of twenty-one Wiener finally grew up and escaped from his father, then professor of Russian at Harvard. He became a docent at Harvard and lectured to the girls at Radcliffe, much to his own embarrassment and theirs. An instructorship at Harvard seemed on the way, but he did not get it, because of a student prank remembered against him from his days as an undergraduate. When it seemed that America must enter the war, he joined the "Harvard Regiment." He now had definitely abandoned philosophy for mathematics, and was rewarded with an instructorship at the University of Maine. If what he says about that seat of learning is just, it should retaliate by bestowing an honorary degree on him.

As his next attempt to get into step and make himself socially acceptable he went to the touted O. T. C. camp at Plattsburg, hoping for a commission—which he did not get. He was inexperienced enough to be shocked by the "bottle-drinking and foul-mouthedness of even these gentlemen sham-soldiers." Determined to do his share in the war, he joined up as an enlisted man, after being rejected for officer training on account of his eyes. He returned to mathematics, making a living in Albany by hack work on the "Encyclopaedia Britannica." He next applied for a position at the University of Puerto Rico. His application was ignored. Finally he got real war work at the Aberdeen Proving Ground, where he could use his mathematical ability.

Among his other misadventures was a spell as a feature writer on the Boston *Herald*. He was fired when he wrote up the atrocious conditions in the Lawrence mills. Wiener has never lacked either moral or physical courage. He even joined Calvin Coolidge's citizen volunteers in their attempt to curb violence during the Boston police strike, and so had a part in Coolidge's election to the Presidency of the United States. At last, at the age of twenty-five, he got an appointment to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he has done creative mathematics ever since.

Looking back on his varied career, with its false starts and its wasteful excursions into blind alleys, what does Wiener think of it all now? Would he educate his own children as he was educated? The answer is inconclusive; the circumstances would have to be taken into account. For his defeated father, who might have been a great philologist, he has only sympathy. In mathematics he has been fortunate. Nearly all his early work, including his study of biology and perhaps even some of the lore he absorbed from the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," has proved useful in his final attack on the problem of communication. His studies on Brownian motion, mathematical logic, the theory of probability, periodgram analysis, and so on have fused together into what his colleagues call "Wienerian mathematics," a peculiarly personal creation of wide applicability to many disparate problems. Without looking for the author's name on a paper, any trained mathematician would recognize Wiener if indeed he were the author. And although there are no formulas in his autobiography, his acquaintances will spot him instantly.

New Books in Brief

Able Liberal

YOU NEVER LEAVE BROOKLYN. The Autobiography of Emanuel Celler. John Day. $3.75. A record of thirty years in Congress by a liberal who has fought for civil rights, civil liberties, freer immigration, anti-monopoly legislation, and support for Israel. Mr. Celler is no great shakes as a writer, but his book can be recommended as a simple, modest self-portrait of an able Congressman who has almost always been on the side of the angels.

With Relevance for Our Time

ESSAYS ON CHURCH AND STATE. By Lord Acton. Introduction by Douglas Woodruff. Viking. $6. Among the great Victorians whose work is being exhumed and reevaluated, Lord Acton, historian, political scientist, and philosopher, is one whose thought has a particular relevance for our time. He had, as Mr. Woodruff points out, "a prophetic preoccupation with the very questions with which the twentieth century has found itself preoccupied." His first concern was the relation of the moral ends of society to moral means. He wrestled unremittingly with such problems as how to safeguard freedom without undermining the necessary authority of the state.

Acton was not always consistent in his ideas, but he was consistent in his championship of "freedom of conscience, that is, of what is highest and best in man." A devout Catholic, his distinction between "the things of Caesar and the things of God," together with his refusal to condone the perpetuation of historical errors in the supposed interests of the church, brought him at times into conflict with the hierarchy. The "Essays on Church and State," for instance, the product of his early years, originally appeared in a short-lived series of lay Catholic reviews which became the victims of clerical

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hostility. Most of them deal with church history and politics. There is, however, one long discussion of the causes of the American Civil War, written in May, 1861, which does little credit either to Acton's prescience, since it assumes permanent disruption of the Union, or to his liberalism, since it includes something like a defense of slavery. Even so, its analysis of the problems of federal democracy are well worth reading.

ACTON'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY: AN ANALYSIS. By G. E. Fasnacht. Viking. $4. Mr. Fasnacht's volume, which draws on MS notes, as well as published lectures and letters, provides a guide to Acton's thought in his later and more liberal years, organized under such headings as The Theory of Conscience; English and American Political Traditions; The State, Government, and Democracy; Socialism; and The History of Freedom. It is not easy, however, to arrange the products of Acton's mind—a mind always alert to the interconnection of ideas—in such convenient compartments, and Mr. Fasnacht has been unable to avoid some repetitions. Nevertheless, his book does provide the student with the essence of Acton.

HERE'S TO A BETTER AMERICA!

The supreme social challenge of this Age (whose alternative is social chaos) is to make the world an ever better place in which to live. The challenge exists because the job is now possible. Doing it involves placing the General Welfare of ALL men first, through social cooperation. This cannot be done in our society which, through competitive personal aggrandizement, places individual interests first. Present society, because of its divisive economic and social organization, institutionalizes conditions ever breeding mutual dissension, in which neither peace, cooperation nor good will can reign among men.

To meet the challenge of this Age, a directed social mutation is now required. This will have to be a projection and expansion of the best in our present society into the form of a Democratic-Scientific Social System. It is now possible to design such a system and to install and operate it democratically.

North America has the social knowledge, the scientists, engineers, technicians, educators and literate population; the skilled labor force, management know-how, installed technology and natural resources; the required democratic institutions and traditions; and also many functional operations already foreshadowing the Better America of Tomorrow.

If interested, write for the I. S. E. Orientation Course (noncommunist–nonfascist) outlining the democratic-scientific approach to social problems, $1.50 postpaid.

INSTITUTE of SOCIAL ENGINEERING

Dept. N

2623 Lawrence Ave., Chicago 25, Ill.

Life in the Midwest

AMOS BERRY. By Allan Seager. Simon and Schuster. $3.95. An ambitious but not altogether successful novel that attempts to combine the psychological, the historical, the philosophical levels in fiction. The protagonist is a respectable Middle Western business man whose wife is secretly planning to divorce him. The story is told by his son, who is determined to break with the conventions that have destroyed his father and to become a poet. The town life of the Middle West from the early 1900's to the present is done well; the psychological insights of the novel hardly need the melodrama which is inserted to support them. The contrast between the hidden conflicts of conventional success and the fulfilment of the artist's life is rather flat. In the end the son understands the father's compulsion to murder and to commit suicide, but most people in similar circumstances merely go on living.

In Post-War Italy

THE FIFTH GENERATION. By Dante Arfelli. Translated by Adrienne Foulke. Scribner's. $3.50. This is a novel of post-war Italy with the thesis that maturity of outlook has no reward in the present moral vortex. It is a convincing work as long as Mr. Arfelli writes about what he knows from his own experience. His protagonists, Berto the extrovert and Claudio the reflective type, make sense to the reader when they talk of their own time. But when Arfelli, who is too young to have remembered much of the rise of Fascism, tries to characterize the tensions of that period, he lapses into flaccid fabrication. Pitted against such Italian writers as Pratolini and Berto, of whose work his is an echo in a minor key, Arfelli suffers on every level. His characters lack the humanity of Pratolini's; his political issues lack the conviction, the searing moral fire of Berto. "The Fifth Generation" is longer and more ambitious than Arfelli's first novel, "The Unwanted," but the author does not yet make the grade with a foreign audience. The story of how these two young men cope with the war, the false armistice, and the problems which beset their ruined country somehow fails to move us. Since the translation is exceptionally smooth, it cannot be held responsibile.

In the Publishing World

LANDFALL. By Helen Hull. Coward-McCann. $3.50. Another well-written but undistinguished novel, accomplished in detail, rather tedious in effect. Miss Hull's satiric gift appears to advantage in the minor portraits of the publishing world. The story gets bogged down in the domestic relationship between a capable female editor and an errant academic husband. Career versus love, complicated by the husband's illness and dependence on the heroine, solved by her decision to abandon—guess what?

Theater

Harold Clurman

I ENJOYED the new production of "Porgy and Bess" (Ziegfeld Theater) very much. In a sense, there is little more to say about it, not only because it has become a kind of classic, but because the quality of its emotion is one which communicates itself easily and directly, and one accepts it without critical cavil.

Gershwin's music has a certain smart sophistication, but its outstanding characteristic, it seems to me, is warm sentiment or a kind of yearning for sentiment. It is as if a skilful popular composer were trying to reach some area of feeling beyond the clatter and glister of "Broadway's" surface, an area purer, richer, more tender than what others were satisfied with.

Everyone in the twenties seemed to be dizzied by the brilliant energy and prosperity of the times, but the more sensitive found themselves lonely and wistful. They were "a lookin' for a home"—a safe place amid the surrounding jungle in which there might be some repose, sweetness, heart. The music of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Porgy and Bess" voices that quest. It is no accident that George Gershwin, who was Jewish, should have found the material for his masterpiece in what amounts to a Negro folk tale—and that the combination, with the aid of the highly gifted lyrics of Ira Gershwin, should have a lasting appeal for all Americans.

For me the most characteristic numbers in "Porgy and Bess" are not the gay and witty "It Ain't Necessarily So," which has a significantly mock-heroic aspect, or "A Woman Is a Sometime Thing," but the love duets, "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" and "I Loves You, Porgy." They are almost hymns of longing, expressions of desire which transcend their personal objects.

The new production has admirable brio and fine touches of color. It is genuinely lively. That its exuberance is sometimes indiscriminate and that the storm scene is awkwardly staged—owing to the scenic arrangement—seem to me minor faults. The director, Robert Breen, is to be congratulated, as is most of the cast. Leslie Scott's Porgy is unaffected and affecting. Leontyne Price as Bess is vocally lovely as well as otherwise attractive, and while Cab Calloway does not make one forget Avon Long's electric Sportin' Life, he (Calloway) has a "classy" musical style which inspires his delivery of the numbers and his acting.

YOU MAY THINK Albert Husson's "My Three Angels"—originally "La Cuisine des Anges"—(Morosco Theater) a wicked prank or simply a pleasantly puckish comedy. But I could not help seeing it as a malicious fairy tale of contemporary France. It twists the familiar pattern of, let us say, "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" or "The Servant in the House," in which a moral, nearly divine stranger brings contentment to a disturbed household. In "My Three Angels" three convicts in French Guiana—two of them murderers, the third a thief—set everything aright in the home of an honest French family in straitened circumstances by killing two distasteful business men.

To understand how such a story can be made into an often hilarious play—something the French press and public designate as *délicieux*—one has to know the mental climate of France today. As a result of the events of 1939-45—the betrayal of their country by some of their most revered leaders, the breakdown of their illusions during the war and the occupation, and the terrible wounds inflicted on their self-esteem—all "righteousness" is now suspect to the French. A "respectable" citizen—particularly one of the solid upper middle class—ninety-nine times out of hundred is regarded as the worst kind of fraud. The "hero" of the new French drama therefore is either an almost sadistically mad religious fanatic or the blackest sort of sinner—in either case, a demon of some sort. It is as if the French did not trust anyone but a blackguard, that is, a frank, determined, unblinking blackguard.

In "My Three Angels," which shows the smiling phase of this new cynicism (it has its pathetic and even "noble" side), the criminals are likable fellows with a keen understanding of life, and the business men—scions of the old Third Republic—are mean, cold, wretchedly calculating creatures, who deserve nothing better than the venomously farcical death they are dealt. "The means justify the ends," one of the three says with cherubic assurance.

Another reason for the play's success in Paris is that it is written in a style which corresponds to its artistic meaning: the avenging "angels" speak like poets with positively exquisite delicacy and wit, while the bourgeois speak with boorish bluntness. Thus the play possessed a literary allure in the original which it lacks in the American version by Sam and Bella Spewack.

The fairy-tale feeling of "My Three Angels" is rather neglected in the current production, making the play rather less distinctive than it might be. Only Walter Slezak as the most unregenerate of the play's villainous "heroes" gives his part the proper style of charming mischief. The others—none of whom is bad—are directed too prosaically. Be that as it may, it is only fair to point out that the scene in which the younger of the two victims writhes in a death agony (from snake-bite) while the three "angels" calmly go on discussing their plans is one of the most outrageously comic to be seen on any stage anywhere. It convulsed me with astonished laughter—and I did not seem to be alone in this.

PENTAGON POLITICS

by

WILLIAM H. NEBLETT

Former National President of the Reserve Officers Association

With a professional military clique seeking to gain complete control of the nation, every politically minded citizen should read this clear and detailed presentation of the facts behind the current trend toward military dictatorship, spearheaded by our General Staff.

Colonel Neblett proposes a cogent solution to the problems of America's "cold war" defense and answers such vital questions as:

Why—failure of UMT?
Why—retired generals and admirals turned lobbyists?
Why—A-bomb secrets released to Russia?

Of special significance today—with a five-star general in the White House and an ex-General Motors magnate as Secretary of Defense.

Only $3.00

ORDER at your bookseller or from

PAGEANT PRESS

130 West 42 St., New York 36

"...This book may well be a momentous innovation. . . . Something extraordinary and exciting and of our time."
—Donald Sutherland, THE NEW REPUBLIC

"A first novel of penetration and power by a young Greek writer."
—THE NATION

"A notable first work."
—N. Y. TIMES

NO NAME IN THE STREET

By Kay Cicellis

$3.00

GROVE PRESS

59 West 9 Street, New York 11

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Films

Manny Farber

THE directors of two new films—"The Naked Spur" and "Jeopardy"—having worked on a number of low-budget thrillers, claim space this week for a notation of their talents. John Sturges, director of "Jeopardy," is a deft mechanic who has turned out such pictures as "Mystery Street" and "The Case Against O'Hara." He has almost Defoe's talent for creating circumstantial detail, along with the ability to make hard-to-do things seem easy. Interested in the problem of how "people like you and me" express ourselves at work, Sturges steers his films away from melodrama into literate, semi-documentary studies of such subjects as law-office routine or sleuthing in a college laboratory. He has a restrained hand with actors, a moderately realistic camera style, and a remarkable talent for letting us know what goes on in the minds of people faced with a scientific or mechanical problem.

Only as individual a director as Sturges could have concocted anything worth seeing out of "Jeopardy," with its picture-postcard settings, ragged dialogue, and Pearl White-type thrills that have been guidebooked by a dozen other hair-raising films. The story, which could have been worked out for a radio play, has Barry Sullivan trapped under a jetty, with only his wife (chief desperate star Stanwyck) to save him from drowning in the in-coming tide. The help she finally gets turns out to be a sex-starved killer (Ralph Meeker) who commandeers her car to escape from his crime. Some of the dialogue sounds as if it came from a *Collier's* gangster: "Is there anything your husband has that I could use?" leers Meeker. However, Sturges has lowered the temperature of this frantic story by turning it into a kind of examination of wild landscape, car problems, and how one can outwit nature on a holiday trip along the coast of Lower California. By searching with the lens into every corner of a late-model Ford convertible and creating interest in such things as lug-wrenches, spinning wheels, and raising a car without a jack, Sturges made a fine study in car mania, one that speeds along at a fast clip and would be clear and suspenseful even to a deaf person.

Anthony Mann, director of "The Naked Spur," is good at making action films come to life after the sun sets, when in delicately underlighted episodes he demonstrates that nothing is more fascinating than an objective study of nihilistic evil, death, and destruction. The Marquis de Sade of the Metro directing crew, Mann not only gives genuine form and style to his cruel-toned works but has almost vindicated Hollywood's technique with mountain slides, Indian fights, and shooting matches by showing how a deluge of violence scenes can create striking visual rhythms that are like powerful if devastating music. Mann did a careful and artful job with the ingredients of "The Naked Spur," but he got some of his material—the theme of human greed—distinctly third-hand via the Huston "Sierra Madre" epic. Just five people—a cagy desperado, a merciless pursuer, an old prospector, a dishonorable cavalryman, and an attractive blonde—go along on the hoked-up ride through the rocky hills of Colorado.

Each of the roles, except Millard Mitchell's slow-witted prospector, is played as if the actor thought he could do this job blindfolded at the bottom of a well. For a while Robert Ryan and his companion in flight, Janet Leigh, are as mean a couple of coyotes as you will find in a Western, but then Leigh casts off her unglamorous disguise, and Ryan starts in with his oily Iago-type expressions of self-assured evil. Perhaps there is too much predictable plot complication here to please old Anthony Mann fans, but his particular gifts are evident anyway: the unique love scene that is cut in against the eerie patter of rain on outdoor eating utensils; the three-way shooting match around a rocky cliff that builds up a frightening chorus with the ping of bullets on rocks. A laudable achievement, too, is the way all that Technicolor landscape is kept under control, seeming to be as plain and solid around the cowboys as in any good black-and-white horse opry.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE record "First Chair" (Columbia), which is being sold for the benefit of the Philadelphia Orchestra Pension Fund, presents the orchestra's great solo oboe, Marcel Tabuteau, in Handel's beautiful Concerto No. 3; its great solo flute, William Kincaid, whose unique silvery tone is heard in Griffes's Poem, a work I don't care for; its great solo horn, Mason Jones, who amazes one with the extraordinary beauty of his tone, its fluidity and subtle inflection in an engaging Larghetto by Chabrier; its brilliant solo trumpet, Samuel Krauss, in Purcell's Trumpet Voluntary; its fine solo clarinet, Anthony Gigliotti, in the inconsequential Weber Concertino (why not a movement of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto?); its excellent solo bassoon, Sol Schoenbach, in an inconsequential Concert Piece by Burrell Phillips (again why not Mozart?); its solo cellist, Lorne Monroe, whose technique in an engaging Weber Adagio and Rondo is dazzling, but whose tone is made edged and brash by the recording; and its concert-master, Jacob Krachmalnick, whose tone also is poorly reproduced in Beethoven's uninteresting Romance No. 2 (again why not a Mozart concerto movement?). The beautiful sound of the entire orchestra is well reproduced in the Purcell, Griffes, Handel, and Chabrier pieces, but acquires a hash of distortion in the Weber Concertino and Phillips piece.

Handel's Concertos Op. 4 Nos. 1 and 2 for organ and orchestra (London) I don't find interesting. The performances by Jeanne Demessieux with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande under Ansermet are good.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Berlioz's rarely played Funeral and Triumphal Symphony (Lyrichord) the operation of the Berlioz mind, always interesting for itself, this time produces music which doesn't persuade and affect me as it usually does. The performance by Cologne brass and string orchestras and chorus under Fritz Straub's direction seems good, except that I can imagine the finale more impressive played a little more slowly.

The charming Rossini pieces brilliantly orchestrated by Respighi in "Rossiniana" are played well by the Covent Garden Opera Orchestra under Braithwaite (MGM). On the same record are the less consequential Cimarosa pieces orchestrated by Malipiero in "Cimarosiana" and the Overture to "Il Matrimonio Segreto." Surfaces are noisy.

In Toscanini's 1936 recording of the Brahms-Haydn Variations one can hear how marvelously sensitized the New York Philharmonic was to his direction; in his new recording of this lovely piece (RCA Victor) one hears how close the NBC Symphony's playing has come to the 1936 Philharmonic's—close, but to my ears still not all the way. As for Toscanini himself, I was struck by a couple of details—a slowing down in the second part of Variation 3 that I felt was disproportionate to the basic tempo established in the first part, and a similar acceleration in the final passacaglia—details which struck me, and which I mention, only because one of Toscanini's outstanding characteristics is his sense for coherence in tempo, which is evident in his treatment of the same two passages in the 1936 performance. The two details don't make the new performance anything less than a superb one; and the record also offers a magnificent performance of Elgar's "Enigma" Variations.

Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5 is played by Schmidt-Isserstedt and the Hamburg Radio Symphony with the traditional distortions that make it sentimental and hysterical (London).

I enjoy some passages of Stravinsky's Piano Concerto (1923-24) now that I didn't when I first heard the work almost thirty years ago; but I still don't like it as much as some of the subsequent works in which he used the same method with increasing elaboration and expertness. It is performed effectively (RCA Victor) by Stravinsky with a Victor orchestra and his son Soulima as solo pianist. Stravinsky also conducts the orchestra in the Scherzo à la russe that he wrote for Paul Whiteman, and a chorus of men and boys in a Pater Noster and Ave Maria—none of which pieces I care for.

Prokofiev's Symphony No. 5 (1944), one of the best of his later works, and unusual in the sustained and involved construction of its first and third movements, is given an excellent performance by Tuxen with the fine Danish State Radio Symphony (London).

Roger Goeb's Symphony No. 3 is for Stokowski, who conducts the performance (RCA Victor), one of the works in which "the most talented American composers are expressing through Tone and Rhythm our conception of the life of action and feeling of America"; but I can only report that its "complex interweaving of dynamic rhythm and vigorous melodic lines" communicates nothing at all to me. The same for Bartok's Sonata for two pianos and percussion, in which Stokowski conducts Gerson Yessin and Raymond Viola, pianists, and Elayne Jones and Alfred Howard, percussionists, and concerning which he emits long stretches of his portentous-sounding zero-talk. The performances are excellent.

Art Notes

FRANK DUNCAN shows oils and water colors of still lifes and landscapes. The landscapes are of Majorca, Spain, and Rhode Island. His colors are warm and pleasant with greens and reds predominating.—*Durlacher to April 4.*

MICHEL G. GILBERT, French-born painter, has had three shows at this gallery. These recent neo-Impressionist paintings are landscapes of Paris and New England.—*Passedoit to April 4.*

ANTONIO FRASCONI, a native Uruguayan who has lived in the United States for the past eight years, is a leading woodcut artist. These powerful color blocks depict the activity around the Brooklyn Bridge and the Fulton Fish Market in strong, opaque colors. —*Weyhe to April 14.*

JEANNETTE M. GENIUS, a Southern artist, in her first New York show exhibits a group of semi-abstractions concerned with buildings and figures. They are light and gay in color treatment with interesting textures.—*Contemporary Arts to April 3.*

SIDNEY SIMON in his third one-man show presents New York scenes in segmented, semi-transparent paintings that suggest various French influences. —*Grand Central Moderns to April 7.*

RECENT PAINTINGS
NAT RAMER
March 30-April 11
Helen Goodman Gallery
137 East 27 Street, New York

—30% Less than List on LP Records—
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-70
Box 175, Radio City Station, New York 19, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges
(50¢ minimum) 48-HOUR SHIPMENT

YUL BRYNNER
in
RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN'S
The King and I
A New Musical Play
with CONSTANCE CARPENTER
ST. JAMES THEATRE, West 44 St.
Evenings at 8:25: $7.20 to 1.80. Matinees
Wednesday & Saturday at 2:25: $4.20 to 1.80.

IN THE NAME OF SIMPLE HUMANITY
Rally to Secure Clemency for
ETHEL & JULIUS ROSENBERG
SUNDAY, MARCH 29—8:30 P.M.
Adm.: $1.50 orchestra; $1 balcony
CARNEGIE HALL
154 West 57th Street
SPEAKERS:
Dr. Bernard Loomer
Dean, Divinity School, University of Chicago
Mr. William Harrison
Associate Editor, Boston Chronicle
Miss Ruby Dee,
Star, Jackie Robinson Story
Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes
Philadelphia
Jack Levine
Distinguished Artist
Choral Presentation
Auspices: National Council, ASP • 35 West 64th Street • SU 7-4677

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

Intolerance in Italy

Dear Sirs: The battle for religious liberty in Italy is being lost. Notwithstanding the promises of the Gasperi government, and the guaranties of the constitution, the Peace Treaty of 1947, and the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation of 1949, Italy's clerical government continually violates religious freedom. The Vatican-controlled officials of Italy are using every device to impose their control on Italian life.

On Reformation Sunday, October 30, 1949, a seminary for the retraining of Roman Catholic priests was opened in Portici at Naples—the Evangelical Biblical Institute. It was founded and financed by me and a group of American friends. I am an American and for more than a quarter of a century I was active as a minister and school teacher in New York and New Jersey. At present the school and its enlarged activities have friends and supporters all over the United States.

Since the summer of 1952 the Roman church has shown increasing opposition to the school, and last January I was ordered to leave the country. An appeal to Prime Minister de Gasperi was fruitless.

American correspondents in Italy asked me why I was being expelled, but an Associated Press dispatch in one Rome newspaper had already given the answer. "Caliandro's troubles," it said, "follow difficulties reported for the past three years by the Church of Christ, the Baptists, and the Pentecostals. . . . The order from the Interior Ministry expelling Caliandro was the latest move in a three-year strife between Italy's Catholic government and some Protestant Evangelical groups."

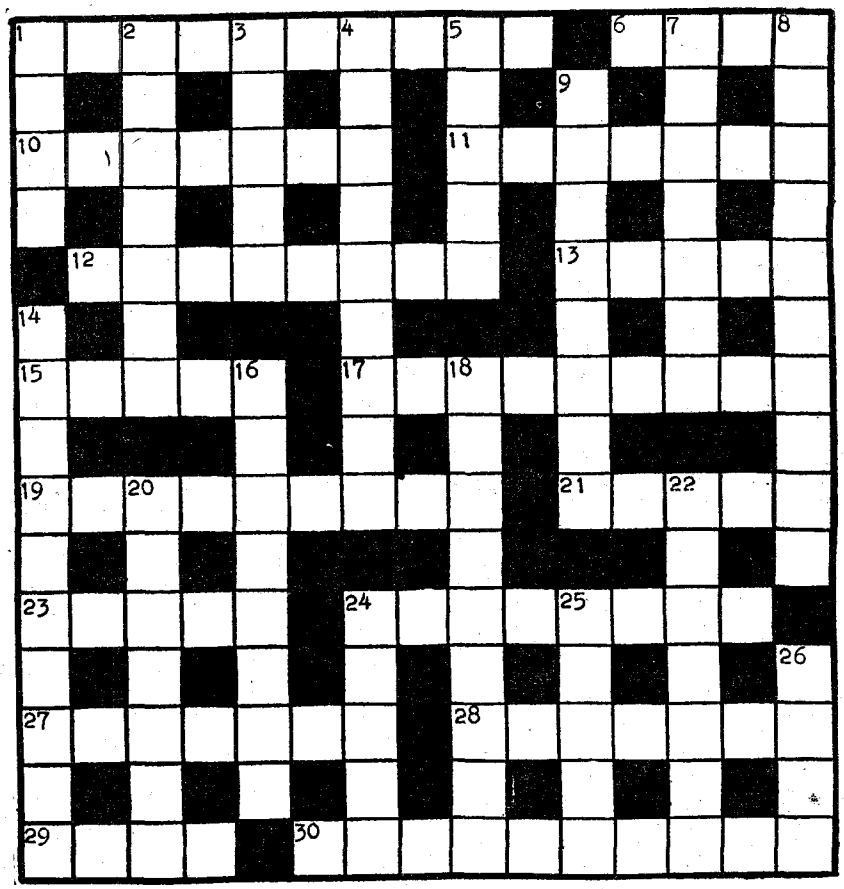
We are continuing our work at Portici as if nothing had happened. Many people, including civic leaders and intellectuals, are assuring us of their support and openly criticizing the action of the Italian government.

The Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation of 1949 between the United States and Italy guarantees to the nationals of both countries full religious liberty in the following terms:

> The nationals of either high contracting party shall within the territories of the other high contracting party be permitted to exercise liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, and they may, whether individually, collectively, or in

Crossword Puzzle No. 509

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 6, 18 down and 24 down. Giving the third and last three members of the orchestra the lead in pot-pourri? (7, 3, 4, 6, 3, 5)
10 He has the make-up of a cad and a liar! (7)
11 See 19 across.
12 Cereal desserts—on the house, perhaps. (8)
13 Para, by a different name, sounds like one associated with a talking animal. (5)
15. Katisha was such a daughter-in-law.
17 It might be the base of what affects you, in one sense. (9)
19, 11, 29, and 1 down. Implying the most devout Quaker is required to fix locks? (3, 4, 2, 7, 4, 4)
21 Joseph Rodman, perhaps, sort of acted like Maud Muller. (5)
23 "That bustle so illustrious
'Tis almost consequence,
Is the ——— of death."
Emily Dickinson. (5)
24 Sharp change of course, more or less outmoded in marine warfare?
27 Where there's no hope of getting praised? (7)
28 Tug commander, perhaps, with a crop of flax. (7)
29 See 19 across.
30 Observes an animal found in an island of the Dutch East Indies. (10)

DOWN

1 See 19 across.
2 To plead for the life of Rana, in an immature way? (7)
3 Descriptive of Cinna's people? (5)
4 Spooner certainly wouldn't imply a burning spirit here. (4, 5)
5 Handles a broken shaft, evidently. (5)
7 Would Wagner's opera cycle have such a form? (7)
8 Does it put a strain on the commander of a merchant vessel? (10)
9 The mixed breed that Master Cratchit is superior to? (8)
14 Warm up the bird, and give it to the master; the people here are filled with disbelief. (10)
16 Sounds like a tough description of ai for a salientian. (4, 4)
18 See 1 across.
20 Implies the service entrance when one does. (7)
22 A synonym is contained in 4 down.
24 See 1 across.
25 Rise aloft, like one who might 28 if decapitated. (5)
26 Time for Irving's Bones to get away from tiresome platitudes. (4)

• ✠ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 508

ACROSS:—1 APHORISMS; 9 DOLEFUL; 10 MYALGIA; 11 RADIANT; 12 TEABALL; 13, 24 and 32 SEE AMERICA FIRST; 17 BERTHA; 18 ALAMO; 19 UPPERS; 25 ADS; 27 DERIDES; 28 THERESA; 30 OSHKOSH; 33 MASON JARS.

DOWN:—1 ARDOR; 2 HOLIDAY; 3 REFRAIN; 4 SPLITS; 5 SEMITE; 6, 31, 6 across and 15 across WHAT ARE THE WILD WAVES SAYING; 7 VAGRANT; 8 SMALL TALK; 14 ELAND; 15 SOUNDS OFF; 16 and 22 GAS ATTACK; 17 BOA; 20 PERCHER; 21 REDCOAT; 23 THEREON; 25 ASCHAM; 26 STATES; 29 ANDES.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

IMPORTED BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Just Arrived!
A. FIODOROV
"The Underground Committee Carries On"
Vivid factual story of the Underground and the fight behind enemy lines during the Nazi occupation. Well Bound in English — 518 pp. — $1.75

ANTONINA KOPTAYEVA
"IVAN IVANOVICH"
Highest Prize Award, 1949. Fascinating novel involving a conflict in family relationship between husband and wife and devotion to service in the community. Action takes place in Yakutia in North Siberia.
In English — 548 pp. — $1.50
Latest Soviet Records.
We ship to all parts of the United States, South America and Canada
1953 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
Ask for Complete Catalogue E-53
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

OUR SPECIALTY
Locating out-of-print books. We search and report free. DELTA BOOK SERVICE, Dept. N, 2856 Woodlawn Terrace, Memphis, Tenn.

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS! An astute agent will do more than present manuscripts in routine fashion. He will recognize talent and create the opportunity to use it! Write for terms—TODAY! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

ART

PHILADELPHIANS interested in contemporary art should visit the ELLEN DONOVAN GALLERY at 216 West Rittenhouse Square.

LECTURE

★ Friday, March 27, 8:30 ★
WILLIAM MANDEL
Noted Authority on Russia discusses
THE SOVIET UNION—WHAT NOW?
THE CHANGE FROM STALIN TO MALENKOV
Questions ★ Refreshments
Ausp.: YORKVILLE COMPASS CLUB
YORKVILLE TEMPLE, 157 E. 86 St., N.Y.
CONTRIBUTION: FIFTY CENTS

PERSONALS

DEPARTMENT STORE BLUES? Replenishing your *Spring Wardrobe* at MISS GOODMAN'S, *"Where the Individual is Important."* Better Dresses, Suits, Coats at *Sane Prices.* Miss Goodman, 362 Lexington Avenue, near 41st Street, N. Y. C. MUrray Hill 5-0670.

3-SPEED PORTABLE PHONOGRAPH with tone control. Nationally advertised at $29.95, our price to April 1 only $18.95. STANDARD BRAND DIST., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Streets), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 30 Minutes Free Parking.

RESORT ADVERTISING
Classified Display—$7.42 per inch
Classified Non-Display—74¢ per line
(6 WORDS TO THE LINE)
Generous discounts for multiple insertions
Write or phone today for further information
Advertising Department
The NATION
20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y.
BA 7-1066

religious corporations or associations, and without annoyance or molestation of any kind by reason of their religious belief, conduct services, either within their own houses or within any other appropriate buildings, provided that their teachings or practices are not contrary to public morals or public order.

As an American, I know that the United States government faithfully lives up to the letter as well as to the spirit of this treaty. I cannot say the same thing for Italy, where I have resided since it went into effect.

A very large number of fine Italian citizens complain with much feeling that the American government is lending its support to the so-called Christian Democratic Party of Mr. de Gasperi. This government is a purely clerical government—not democratic and not Christian. ANTHONY CALIANDRO,
Director, Evangelical Biblical Institute of Italy
Portici, Naples, Italy

That Plea for Heretics

Dear Sirs: After reading in your January 3 issue the extracts from Dr. Macbeath's Plea for Heretics, I wrote the author for permission to publish in pamphlet form the entire remarkable address. He gave me permission, and the full text can now be obtained at 15 cents per single copy or $10 per hundred by writing to me at 507 East Orange Grove Avenue, Pasadena, California. If there is any profit left after the cost of printing 1,000 copies has been covered, it will be used to start a fund for doing what Professor Macbeath says we *must* do—put some of our *ideas* into intelligent *action.*

Pasadena, Cal. J. G. MOORE

In Defense of Ingersoll

Dear Sirs: I confess that as an inveterate agnostic I was shocked to read the notice in *The Nation* of Cramer's new biography of Ingersoll, and particularly the statement that there was a generous amount of showmanship and "rascality" in Ingersoll. . . . The late Haldeman-Julius asked me about three years ago to review critically Ingersoll's attacks on orthodox religion, Christian and Jewish. I consented rather reluctantly. . . . My surprise was pleasant and keen. Ingersoll is extremely modern and philosophical as well as scientific. . . . He cannot be dismissed as a Quixote or as a mere phrase-monger.

La Jolla, Cal. VICTOR YARROS

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

THE PINES. Modern year-round place for relaxation, in heart of Blue Mountains of Penn. Dutch country. Jewish-American cuisine. 90 miles from N. Y. C. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1, Pa. Tel: BATH 6501.

PICTURESQUE hideaway on private lake, amid virgin woods, waterfalls, expansive. Unusual food, antique treasures, congenial atmosphere. Rooms with baths. Small group. Lake Louanne, Old Clinton Rd., Westbrook, Conn. Phone: CLinton 6-2465.

SUMMER COTTAGES

OWN YOUR OWN SUMMER HOME FOR LESS THAN RENTAL!
in private community on mountain top
LIVINGSTON MANOR, N. Y.
with facilities of huge concrete swimming pond, clubhouse, all sports, children's playground, etc.
Smart 3- & 4-rm. duplex cottages
Priced for Quick Sale—from $3,300.
RAMM, 84-12 35 Avenue, Jackson Heights, N. Y.
DE 5-8919

BUNGALOW COLONY

MIRTH BUNGALOW COLONY
Modernized bungalows—2, 3 and 4 rooms
Day Camp led by High School Teachers
Lake, Tennis Courts, Sport facilities
Folk Dancing and other cultural entertainment
For further information
Phone: DEwey 9-0534 — Or write
MIRTH COLONY (S. Star)
MOUNTAINDALE NEW YORK

INDUSTRIAL PROPERTIES

TAX-EXEMPT INDUSTRIAL
Buildings
On a great 50-acre Industrial tract in Jersey City (the seaboard railroad heart of America) we will erect up to six million square feet of industrial space for long-term lease to top-grade tenants; or tenants may erect their own buildings which will be wholly exempt from all real estate taxes for 50 years, then reverting to Jersey City.
L. N. Rosenbaum & Son
565 Fifth Avenue
New York 17

PUBLIC RELATIONS

PUBLICITY
for labor groups, trade associations, civic organizations and business corporations
JESSE GORDON & ASSOCIATES
Public Relations
1819 Broadway New York, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THIS MAN DECIDED NOT TO BECOME PRESIDENT OF GENERAL ELECTRIC!

WHY?

T. K. Quinn, for many years vice-president and "white-haired boy" of Gerard Swope's giant industrial empire, answers this question for *Nation* readers in a series of brilliant, intimately written pieces* which have profound social implications for today's America.

Here is the *inside* story of American Big Business by an *insider,* told with candor, warmth, and humor. The Editors of *The Nation* believe that Mr. Quinn's articles are absolutely unique in their field.

*Extracted with the consent of the author from his autobiographical "Giant Business—Threat to Democracy" soon to be published by Exposition Press.

Watch for the first article which will appear soon.

THE NATION

☐ 1 Year $7 ☐ 2 Years $12 ☐ 3 Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5.00 A YEAR

MILITARY RATE IS AVAILABLE ONLY WHEN MAGAZINE IS SENT TO A MILITARY ADDRESS

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

• I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE ____ STATE _____

8/28/53

If you want to be sure to get the Quinn articles, and other special dramatic features planned by *The Nation,* fill out the convenient order form.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED